1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

1

BACKGROUND

THE Papago Indians, in the deserts of southern Arizona, were an agricultural people, thoroughly adapted to farming and food gathering in an arid country, yet they were obliged to be semi-nomadic. There were no rivers in their country, and they had to "follow the water" in order to keep alive. They spent their winters camping near small mountain springs, in shelters which were often roofless, guarding their few possessions from the wind, but exposed to the southern sunlight. When June brought a ripening of the giant cactus, nourished on the water in its fleshy trunk, they flocked to the hills to collect its fruit. Finally, with the first July showers, they migrated to the open plain, where their domed brush huts were clustered in permanent villages, uninhabited except in the rainy season. Here they could stay as long as the summer cloudbursts filled their primitive reservoirs and softened the rocklike adobe of their fields. When the corn, beans, and squash were harvested and the reservoirs were dry, they returned to the mountains.

This was their life practically up to the present generation. They were first visited by Kino, the Spanish missionary, in 1691, and after that they had sporadic contacts with Spanish whites during two centuries and a half. Yet their desert was too uninviting to be made a goal of empire, and they were never "reduced," like their Uto-Aztecan kinsmen of Sonora. Even when half their country became American, by the Gadsden Purchase of 1854, they remained almost unvisited. White pioneers streamed along the Gila north of them, bringing profound changes to the Gila Pima, their blood brothers. Still the "Desert People," as the Papago call themselves, remained aloof and almost unknown. They had not even a large reservation until 1917. No wonder they have retained almost to

[p. 3]

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

the present day many ceremonies that have been discarded by the Gila Pima and only vaguely hinted at by the vanishing Lower Pima or the Catholicized Tarahumara.

Rather we should say that *some* of them have retained *some* ceremonies, for the Papago are by no means a homogeneous group. Geographically they are divided into four main sections, each with a different dialect and, perhaps, having different biological elements in its population. These groups have been described in my previous volume,[1] but for convenience in following the ceremonies, they are listed briefly here.

Northern Papago (nicknamed *totokuanyi*, loose G string), sometimes called "Archie people," from the name of their head village. Residents of this large and important division speak of themselves as the true Desert People, the first settlers of the country. They are in intimate communication with the Pima, and this same communication was going on even in Kino's day. Their language is closer to Pima than it is to southern Papago and in fact forms one dialect group with Pima and *kuhatk*. Because of the rapid acculturation of the last two, it is hard to tell whether ceremonial customs were shared also.

Quajote (Papago, *kuhatk*, translated "dried and burnt," or "bowl," alluding to the topography). This division is in close contact with Pima country, and for practical purposes is to be considered part of it. The dialects are identical, and the residents, though claiming the name "desert people," have intermarried largely with the Pima and, like them, have adopted white ways. They figure very little in this study.

Western Papago (nicknamed *huhura*, or *huhula*, orphans). These Indians inhabit the inhospitable desert country, the nickname of its residents indicating that they had no good water and could not build permanent villages. The inhabitants are spoken of by other divisions as sorcerers, a sure sign of strangeness, and their dialect is recognizably different. From an ethnological point of view, the north-and-south line dividing these people from the two just mentioned, is more important than the political boundary between Papago and Pima.

Southern Papago (nicknamed *kokororoti*, or *kokololoti*, from Tecolote, one of their villages). If *kuhatk* belongs practically with the Pima, this division aligns with Mexico. Its people camp and run cattle on

[1] Underhill, 1939, pp. 59–89.

2:Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

1720, says that the people on the San Pedro had had within his own time a quarrel with the Hopi which was never made up, because the Apaches prevented visiting.[1] Even in Kino's time assaults began on the eastern valley towns near to Apacheria. In 1697 one of the mission towns, Cocóspera in Sonora, suffered from what Kino refers to as the "first attack of the Jocomes (Apaches)."[2] The next year six hundred "Jocomes, Sumas, Mansos and Apaches" attacked Santa Cruz to the north in the San Pedro valley. The Pimas fought hard, gathering to pursue the invaders and killing on the second occasion cited 300 of them.[3] But then the Apache front was widened and the raids became constant over the whole eastern extent of Pimeria which was nearest to the hills and far up the Gila and Altar valleys to north and south. By 1750 the San Pedro which had once held 2,000 people was completely deserted. In the south, the Altar villages were depopulated and agriculture had almost ceased. Even the Spanish mines and ranches were being abandoned and the "total ruin of the province was feared."[4] This terrorism continued at intervals until the United States subdued the Apaches in 1874.

The Apache attacks were highly influential in producing the present distribution of Pima and Papago. As the comfortable river settlements were devastated, their Pima inhabitants fled or were killed and after more or less time the desert Papagos seeped in to take their places. The Sóba Jípuris after defending the San Pedro valley for years, finally abandoned it and settled in the next valley to the west, the Santa Cruz. Even this proved untenable and Bac which had had irrigation "more than the city of Mexico" became at last a Papago town and the first set aside as a Papago reservation. The same thing happened in the Altar valley where the irrigated towns, stocked by the Spaniards with wheat and cattle, were first depopulated and then repeopled by Papagos. "San Ignacio," a Spanish report said of one of them in 1750, "is more Papago than Pima."[5]

These movements produced the permutations which make it so difficult now to treat separately of Pimas and Papagos.

Relations with Whites

The Spanish occupancy of Pimeria began with Kino's coming in 1687 and ended with the Gadsden purchase by the United States

[1] Velarde 2, 139.
[2] Kino, Colocacion, referred to in Bolton 1919, 1, 176; also Manje, 2, 83.
[3] Bolton, 1919, 1, 181.
[4] Bolton, 1919, 1, 155.
[5] Doc. Hist. III, v. 4, 892.

2:Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Pa
Pi
648
175

in 1853. In spite of this 166 years of influence, there did not occur in Pimeria either the dying out of the natives which happened in California or the almost complete Hispanization which took place in Sonora. White settlers were always few and white influence discontinuous, the reasons being the sterile nature of the country and the Apache raids.

When Kino arrived on the borders of Pimeria, the whole west coast of Mexico had been incorporated in the Spanish colonial structure from Mexico City up to the Sonora valley, the last but one before the Piman desert. Here there was already a military post and two mining towns with Spanish governors.[1] It was Kino's plan to gather the natives of all Pimeria into villages which should surround a church, which should have well stocked cattle farms and wheat fields, and which should act as supply stations on the road to California.

Kino was an organizer of the highest ability and he did all that one man could do to put the plan into operation. He established missions; he stocked them with cattle, horses, sheep, goats, and poultry, a herd of 500 horses and as many cows being nothing unusual. He taught the natives to build adobe brick houses for the priests and adobe brick churches; to sow and thresh wheat, lentils and vetch; to plow; and to tend cattle. He made fifty trips throughout the country, baptising and distributing Spanish names to localities and people. These first "entries" were an overhelming success and Kino's writings are paeans of enthusiasm over these people "so docile, so affable . . and industrious,"[2] who "in all places received us very kindly,[3] guiding and accompanying us with love, and, if the occasion demanded, coming to meet us with many jars of water many leagues journey."[4] They "listened with pleasure to talks concerning God, Heaven and Hell and told me that they wished to be Christians[5] and came fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty, ninety, one hundred or more leagues' journey, all for the purpose of asking and obtaining holy baptism."[6]

Many of these contacts were brief and the permanent "reduction" which was planned to follow them, proved impossible. Kino established three missions in Sonora: Dolores, San Ignacio and Tubutama, each with several smaller places as "visitas". Caborca, to the west, never managed to keep a priest after the first one was killed, but Bac, across the international border, proved the most

[1] San Juan and Bacamuchi, Bolton, 1919, 1, 112.
[2] Bolton, 1919, 1, 120.
[3] Bolton, 1919, 1, 172.
[4] Bolton, 1919, 1, 189.
[5] Bolton, 1919, 1, 123.
[6] Bolton, 1919, 1, 161.

2:Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Pa
Pi
648
175

lasting of them all. Even in Kino's time they were not all manned constantly and afterward, there was an even greater fluctuation in personnel.

Beside the priest in charge of a mission, Kino, or the king's representative with him, appointed native officers. Even the remote savages whom Kino might never see again received discourses about the "two majesties" (God and the king of Spain) and their chiefs were given wands of office. The complete roster of civil and ecclesiastical authorities used in the more civilized pueblos seems not to have been attempted, but each large-sized town had an Indian alcalde (mayor), while the smaller ones had justices. There were, besides, local military captains who were given a horse and gun apiece and were to recruit their people against the Apaches. Carrying on the idea of organization, one captain general was appointed for the whole of Pimeria but this centralized government was unsuccessful for the captain general finally became overweening and organized a revolt.[1]

These appointees cooperated very willingly with Kino, hunting for offenders and bringing them to justice, carrying messages for him, and attending to church herds and farms. Those in his own river valley had contacts with him, but the others saw him only when he passed through their hamlets at intervals of a year or more. As for the Spanish officials to whom they were nominally subject, they were myths to the Indians and the Indians little more to them.

This was all to have been changed with time and Kino wrote urgently to Spain for more missionaries for this country, "which seems to give thanks to the Lord by offering such an opportunity for its conquest and conversion."[2] A few missionaries were sent. In fact there were by 1750 nine in Pimeria.[3] But the expansion which Kino had expected never took place. When the great organizer had died and the undermanned missions settled down to routine, the reports from Pimeria altered rapidly. "There are no Christians in the world who receive the doctrine more eagerly and understand it less than these Indians .. they forget it from year to year."[4] Nor did their agricultural education proceed much better. The Indians at mission stations were supposed to work in the fields three days for the church and three days for themselves. But they "objected to working for themselves as much as for the church" and were "so lazy and wasteful that they had to be whipped to make them do anything."[5] The collapse of Kino's plan is clearly

[1] Allegre III, p. 290.
[2] Bolton, 1919, 1, 90.
[3] Afanes, 243, 258, 366, 443.
[4] Doc. Hist. III, v. 4, 592.
[5] Doc. Hist. III, v. 4, 594.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1939 NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Pa Pi 648 175

reflected as time goes on, in successive reports: 1716, the majority of the Pimas are still gentiles;[1] 1732, three new missionaries were sent, but only one stayed;[2] 1749, Bac (one of the stations) is more heathen than Christian;[3] 1750, the missionized pueblos have gone back to their ancient barbarism.[4] This last date is in the period of the most violent Apache raids, when the Spaniards themselves were talking of abandoning the country. It was the next year that the Pimas also revolted, destroyed two missions and killed the priests, besieged two other priests in their church and killed, according to one estimate, 119 Spaniards besides probably plundering other missions.[5] They were disciplined and promised to rebuild the churches, but they never did. A Spanish report after this states that there is no help for Sonora except to deport the Pimas who have returned to savagery.[6]

The Jesuit missions kept alive for eighteen years longer, but as Bancroft states: "The natives lived as they pleased, leaving their women and children at the missions for protection or coming in now and then to get food."[7] In 1767 the Jesuits were expelled from the new world. Their place in Pimeria after a year of interregnum was taken by the Franciscans, who remained until the war for Mexican independence in 1823.

This second mission period was one of devoted individual work without any attempt at the former large organization. The Apache terror was in full swing: funds were not availlable as they had been. The Franciscans confined themselves to two of the northern missions, Bac and Tumacacori, without any attempt to rehabilitate the Altar valley, which had been such a flourishing Jesuit domain. The devoted Father Garces made some mission journeys around the country and gave the people a chance to become reacquainted with the tenets of Christianity but after him the missions dwindled to a quiet death.

The contact with lay Whites during this time had been less than in almost any other part of the Spanish domain. Pimeria was a province of Nueva Viscaya and then of Sonora which meant that its Spanish governor always resided far to the south. There was, when Kino first arrived, one military post with fifty men just

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[1] Velarde 1, 118—119.
[2] Allegre III, 245.
[3] Gallardo, quoted in Banc. V, ?, 534.
[4] Doc. Hist. III, v. 4, 614.
[5] Allegre III, 291; Keller, MS quoted in Banc. V, 1, 545.
[6] Doc. Hist. III, v. 4, 614.
[7] Banc. V, 1, 560.

2:Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Pa
Pi
648
175

outside the borders of Pimeria.[1] During the Apache raids frantic appeals brought two more,[2] and finally one in the Santa Cruz valley.

At these remote frontier posts one of the military escorts himself says: "The soldiers were lazy and rapacious."[3] They were continually streaming about the country in unsuccessful pursuit of the Apaches and often helped by the Pima, three hundred of whom sometimes went out with the Spaniards at once. This provided casual voluntary contacts but none that were permanent.

Ranches, in that difficult country were always few, the settlers complaining that the missions monopolized all the desirable land.[4] The Apache menace made large haciendas, such as existed in California, too much of a risk. In 1764 there were only two.[5] But the Spanish reports mention white men living far from any pueblo and owning a few cattle[6] and complain of the evil "Spaniards, coyotes and mulattos" who lead the Pimas astray.[7]

The most important contacts of the Pimans, outside the missions, must have been those with mining prospectors. The country abounds in thin deposits of gold and silver, reachable with a pickaxe, or in the river valleys through placer mining. In the Altar valley during the Spanish occupancy there were continual flurries of gold discovery, but no establishment of large mines like those farther south which set whole Indian populations to work. As a report to Spain in 1750 puts it:

"There is not a single regularly established *real* (mining camp) or settlement in Sonora or one having over ten permanently resident families. The population is scattered and constantly changing with the discovery of new mines..... poor miners struggle for existence."[8]

The Pimas themselves had made no use of the desert minerals and even Spanish miners did not push past the Altar valley until 1736 when a deposit of silver nuggets was found at Arizonac *(ari conacam*, having a little spring) in the middle of the desert country. For a while the country was flooded with "roving vagabonds called miners",[9] but the supply was soon exhausted. There must always

[1] Fronteras, in the Sonora valley.
[2] Bancroft, V, 1, 528.
[3] Manje, quoted in Bancroft, V, 1, 504.
[4] Salvador report, quoted in Banc. V, 1, 542.
[5] Doc. Hist. III, v. 4, 609.
[6] Salvador report, quoted in Banc. V, 1, 532.
[7] Doc. Hist. III, V 4, 630.
[8] Gallardo, quoted in Banc. V, 1, 534.
[9] Banc. V, 1, 506.

2:Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Pa
Pi
648
175

have been a few individual prospectors wandering about the region but the majority were kept off by the sterile nature of the country, the expense of reducing ores and the danger from the Apache.

It was after the mission period that there began those changes which officially separated the Papago from the Pima. As has been mentioned, many of the former desert people had flooded into the irrigated towns, in the Altar valley and up the Santa Cruz. But those towns were still within Apache country and out of the way of travel. The Pima on the Gila had never been forced to move nor been replaced by Papagos. Little by little, as the United States expanded westward, the route along the Gila became known and with it the Pimas resident there. When the United States made a purchase of territory from Mexico in 1853, this Gila Valley was included. There was also included a stretch of desert to the south of it which had the effect of cutting the old Pimeria practically in two. The Altar valley, which had bounded Pimeria on the south, remained in Mexico. The desert dwellers who had always had more affiliations with that valley than with the Gila kept their connections with it.

Thus as the stream of white travel touched the River People more and more constantly, the Desert People remained unknown, their contacts still in Mexico. There was some attempt to regulate all the territory of the Gadsden purchase from Tucson but in 1870 a reservation was set apart at Sacaton and called Pima. When in 1874 a little land was reserved to the Indians around the old settlement of Bac, this was called Papago.

White ranchers and prospectors were now beginning to settle on the Public Domain which had been Papago land and it became obvious that the Indians must have protection. There were set aside in succession, first 10,233 acres at Gila Bend, then eighty at Solls (with eighty more at San Miguel for Presbyterian and Catholic missionaries) and finally the large reservation established in 1917 and enlarged in 1921 and 1933 until it now contains 2,636,615 acres. It was the last reservation to be established and its provisions contained a ruling not made with other reservations, to the effect that the Indians' right to the land did not include a right to the minerals. The Indians were considered to have, under the United States, exactly the rights they had had under Mexico and, since they had never done any mining, mining rights were not included.

From this time the process of Americanization proceeded as on other reservations. By 1931, the reservation had four government schools and nine mission schools, with 974 pupils. There was a

2:Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Pa
Pi
618
175

hospital at Sells and a tuberculosis sanatorium being built at San Xavier. There was an Indian policeman paid by the government and minor offenses were heard before Indian judges and punished in the reservation jail. An Indian stockman, paid by the government, superintended the sale of Indian cattle to the best advantage. Deep wells had been drilled at several of the summer villages so that the people need not use an insanitary pond nor fetch water from a distance.

The Papago were still supplementing their earnings by working for the Pimas and the Mexicans of Sonora, but a settlement of them had grown up in Tucson where they worked as house servants and gardeners for the Whites. At Ajo, just off the reservation to the west, there had grown up a copper mine where as many as 800 of them were sometimes employed at one time. They were still reported as agriculturalists, most families on the reservation raising enough for their own use and some having a surplus for barter at the store. Cattle raising had taken the place of hunting and at the south, where cattle had been longest known, there were several large ranchers. Other families had ten head or more and the total number of cattle was very roughly estimated at 20,000. Every man, if possible, had a riding horse, many had wagons and there were perhaps, one or two automobiles.

The government had dug deep wells at some of the larger villages so that the constant need for water had been alleviated and, with it some of the movements of the population. The young people spoke English after a fashion though few over thirty spoke other than Papago with a few words of Mexican. They wore Mexican clothes: cowboy regalia for the men, cotton frocks and mantillas for the women. Their houses were the one room structures of wattle and daub so common in Sonora.

In 1933, the leisurely progress of the Papago toward Americanization was suddenly speeded up. Emergency Conservation funds were appropriated for the improvement of the water supply by the drilling of deep wells, installing gasoline pumps, improving springs, digging reservoirs. Trails and truck roads were to be built to make these accessible. Papagos were employed at the work and taught stone masonry, carpentry, machine operating. Almost every man had a chance at day labor for a few months, at the standard pay given to Whites.

In 1935 the Indian Reorganization Act was presented to the Papagos who voted to accept it and produced a constitution. The election of officers is in process at the time of this writing.

It is not the purpose of this paper to follow in detail the rapid and

2:Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Pa
Pi
648
175

complex changes which are shaping the reservation under White influence. Those changes can be better studied after a few years have defined their course, but they can hardly be evaluated without a clear understanding of the culture which formed their background and which is rapidly disappearing under the new stimulus. The following pages present as clear a picture as could be formed in the time available, of the old culture which had remained almost intact for many centuries. The description is in the past, since the extent of its preservation differs from village to village. In many places, it seems almost untouched; in some it has disappeared. The simplest method seems to be to describe it as in the youth of which most informants were telling and to indicate briefly at the end of the paper the direction and the amount of change.

Z: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

together, since this made a better target. They were to watch the arrows as they left the bow, to squat to avoid the high ones, leap to avoid the low ones, or throw the body from side to side. Boys practised in this way alone whenever they had a chance. They also practised shooting, by throwing a bundle of rags in the air and trying to shoot it before it fell. Before a war party all the fighters practised in this way under the direction of the war leader or the retired warriors.

The Apache were the enemies of whom the Papago went in constant fear. Although the Spanish writers speak of Yuman captives taken by the "Pimas" and of wars among the Pimas themselves, these differences must have ceased with the growing of the Apache menace. The word *ohp*, enemy, is always translated Apache, for which there is no other term. No distinction is made between the divisions of the Apache or between Apache and Navajo, and the term might possibly include other nomadic tribes, such as the Comanche.

The Apache raided storehouses and carried off young women as captives, but their principal objective was horses, which they wanted not to ride but to eat. "They were always hungry." Apprehension because of an attack was a constant factor in Papago life. "You never knew when an Apache would jump yelling off the roof of your house when you went out at dawn" (27). The men were urged nightly in the council to be on their guard. A typical speech of admonition given by a father to his sons is the following:

"At dawn you must rise. Listen all about you for something. Look all about you for something. All kinds of things there may be for you to find. Apache tracks may be visible. If you find them, you will tell of it and you will follow. Even if you do not overtake them, you will follow far before you drop the trail. You will learn that certainly they passed that way. Perhaps you will learn that there are many of them, camping somewhere, expecting to come down and attack us." (22)

But the principal time for raids was in winter, after the harvest was in. The short rainy season in midwinter was the best opportunity. "The Apaches are shamans. They control the mist and rain and always travel under cover of it." The usual attack was made before dawn, when some horses were run off and a few women and children killed. In one case, there is record of a whole village being exterminated.

"One night my mother told my father she was sure something was going to happen, so they left the village. That night the Apache came. Some of the women were out in the menstruation house,

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

The essential differentiation between Papago and Pima, which is now so obvious, began at this time. The Pima adopted American names and American clothing, and by 1871 had an American school. Meantime the Papago, when they spoke any language at all but their own, spoke Spanish, wore mantillas, and regarded the Altar Valley as their source of culture. More important still, the Pima gave up most of their ancient ceremonies while the Papago continued theirs.

Among the most important had been the ceremonies for war. The marauding Apache, in the hills to the east of Pimeria, had provided constant persecution since Kino's time, but in 1887 they were subdued by the United States, with the help of both Pima and Papago.

After this, scalps were no longer taken, and the important ceremonies of the warpath, of victory, and of warrior's purification were abandoned. But, until the present generation, the Papago continued their intervillage games with the accompanying dances, their cleansing ceremony for food, and their driving away of evil. Even yet, the northern part of the reservation ferments liquor from the giant cactus fruit and drinks it ritually as a magic to saturate the earth with rain. The shamans still practise, and the lay curers dream songs which give each one power over some particular disease sent by a particular animal. Other power can still be obtained, if not from scalps, then at least by the killing of an eagle or the ritual fetching of salt from the Gulf of California. Most of these ceremonies, as they occurred some fifty years ago, are described in the succeeding pages.

The writer made a series of ethnological studies among the Papago under the auspices of Columbia University, covering the periods June to October 1931, February to October 1933, November to January 1934, and October to November 1935, much of the work being financed by the Columbia University Council of the Social Sciences. During most of this time the narrator of the following autobiography, Maria Chona, acted as informant, hostess, guide, and means of introduction to the various villages, in most of which she had relatives or descendants.

Chona is a corruption of the Spanish name Encarnacion, with which the old woman had been baptized on a childhood trip to Mexico. She was the daughter of a prominent leader, José María, nicknamed Con Quien, the name of a Spanish card game. Since the words themselves would have little significance, the nickname has been translated hereafter as "The Gambler." Chona was inordinately proud of this father who had been appointed village chief or "governor" when the Papago first came under American supervision. The Papago custom in most ancient times had been to have a ceremonial leader who performed a few executive functions, but

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

175
797

He did intend to come again, or to send others, to found missions. For this purpose, and to provision his own expeditions, he sent many herds of horses and cattle ahead and supplied the people with seeds to plant wheat. But no missions were ever founded in the Papago country north of the border.

To the south were established Dolores (Kino's headquarters), Magadalena, San Ignacio, Caborca, Pitaquito, Oquitoa, Tubatama, Sáric, Ootcam near Pozo Verde (just across the present international border at the tip of the Baboquivari Mountains), and Sonóita (on the present border at the western edge of the Papago country). The Pima, Soba, and Papago of this southern territory were fairly thoroughly missionized, although there were occasional uprisings. Three missions were also founded among the Sobaípuri along the fertile Santa Cruz River, the main north-and-south route. These missions—San Gabriel de Guébavi, San Cayetano de Tumacácori, and San Xavier del Bac—were short-lived but were re-established later.

Kino's vision of missions among the Papago proper never materialized. He cultivated the people as much as he could, realizing that they were a bulwark against the marauding Apache, and he gave them cattle, horses, wheat and other seeds, baptism, and a glimpse of Catholicism. But he did not bring about the great change in their culture which the missionized Indians experienced. His influence was felt mainly in the southern and eastern portions of Papaguería.

175
648

Primarily it was the Apache who kept the Papago free from Spanish influence. Before Kino's arrival the Apache had been plunderers, but, after he came, they acquired horses, giving them a wider range and the means of swifter attack. The danger to the Papago increased tenfold. The Apache moved far toward the west, forcing the Sobaípuri before them out of the San Pedro and Santa Cruz valleys.[9] The Apache also occupied the mountains to the north, cutting off the trade route between the Pima and Hopi. Their raids extended far down into Sonora and to villages in the western part of the present Papago Reservation. Kino, after continuous appeals to the Spanish officials, was able to establish two defense stations with soldiers, who fought in co-operation with the Sobaípuri and Papago against the Apache, but this did not stop the raids. After Kino died in 1711, Spanish efforts to repel the marauders almost ceased. They remained a menace until finally subdued by the United States Army in 1885.

The Apache raids had extensive effects on the Papago. It is most probable

9. Some had already started to move west in Kino's time (Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 395). The mission at Guébavi was abandoned in 1784; that at Tumacácori in 1820 or 1825 (Gerard Decorme, *Obra de los Jesuitas mexicanos*, p. 430).

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

that before this time the Papago had lived in rather small villages, spending the summer in the valleys where they planted and harvested their crops, in the winter returning to the mountains where the water supply was assured. As their homes were threatened, they began to abandon the small settlements and to gather together into large defense villages, building forts and terracing the hills, though they still had to follow their migratory cycle in order to exist. They had to learn to live closer together and to co-operate among themselves and between villages in fighting the night attackers. They began, too, to develop supernatural sanctions for fighting and killing the Apache, a system of beliefs and practices which was of vital importance for survival in that period. A few of these beliefs still remain. 175 648

Not much is known of the Papago for a number of years after Kino's death in 1711. The Apache continued to raid. The Papago protected themselves as best they could and at the same time learned to utilize the horses and cattle they had acquired: horses simplified their transportation problem, and cattle added a source of meat. The wheat added to their food supply—when it was not burned or stolen by the enemy.

Missionaries were few in northern Sonora, for the life and problems were difficult. For about thirty years the Papago saw no priest, though work was revived along the Santa Cruz and the missions of San Gabriel de Guébavi and San Xavier del Bac were refounded in 1732. In 1736 Father Sedelmayr went to Tubatama. He wrote that many Papago came to work for him, reconstructing the old missions; they were nothing but skin and bones when they arrived, but they left "fat and instructed." This Father made two trips through the Papago country. In 1752 there was an uprising of the Lower Pima and southern Papago against the Spanish. It was bloody but short-lived, and thereafter the Indians were not so docile or so friendly toward the whites. 175 797

After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Franciscans took up their work. Between 1769 and 1774 Father Garces made three trips to the desert, recommending the founding of two missions. One stone-and-mud chapel was built east of the Santa Rosa Mountains, and the Father from San Xavier visited there infrequently prior to 1827.

It is possible that during this period the Sonora Catholic church, a sect without organization or official connection, had its beginning among the Papago. For its devotees, religion was an individual matter of owning pictures of saints and saying prayers—in short, of worshiping as well as they knew how in the Catholic way, learned from brief observation and practice. The Catholic missionary procedure is not to eradicate former religions but rather to reinterpret them. In this case, the Fathers had little opportunity even to reinterpret, 175 794

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

In the eastern districts there are more stores, and trade is generally brisker, so that there is not so much opportunity for extended personal contact; then, too, there are other white people to ask for advice or assistance. Hence the relationship between trader and Indian is likely to be more impersonal than in the West. Furthermore, there are a few Indian traders to supply some commercial needs.

THE PAPAGO AND GOVERNMENT: THE AGENCY

The three Papago reservations are under the jurisdiction of the Sells Agency[2] of the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, headed by a superintendent and staffed by about two hundred administrators, technicians, clerical and manual workers. In addition to the Administrative Branch, which has the general "housekeeping" duties of the staff, the Agency is composed of three branches: Indian Resources and Engineering (whose functions were discussed in chap. iii), Community Services—Education, Health, Law and Order, and Social Service—which are discussed below. This staff performs for a group of nearly seven thousand Indians many of the functions which in other parts of the country are the province of such local and state organizations and officials as boards of health, education and welfare, state and municipal highway departments, county agents, boards of supervisors, and public safety departments. In most of its programs the Agency staff works in close co-operation with the tribal council, and it seeks to gain widespread public support before new developments are initiated.

PAPAGO SCHOOLS

As previously noted, the Papago have a short life-span, two-fifths of the population being under eighteen years of age, according to ration-book data in 1942. The school-age group alone (six to seventeen years, inclusive) numbered 1,681 children—25 per cent of the population. Not only a much higher proportion of the people are of school age than is customary in other parts of the country, but many of the children live in tiny remote villages, where roads are only wagon trails. Thus the problem of providing schools is greater.

There were in 1943 eighteen day schools on the three Papago reservations. Of these, eleven were maintained by the Indian Service, all of them on the main Reservation. The Roman Catholic missions had six day schools (one on the San Xavier Reservation) and the Presbyterians one at San Miguel in Chukut Kuk District. Off the reservations, Papago children attend four boarding schools and various special schools and sanatoriums run by the Indian

2. Renamed "Papago Indian Agency" in 1948.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

WORKING FOR THE GOVERNMENT

464 Most of the hundred-odd Papago who work for the Agency live with their families in Sells, although they often keep homes and fields in their own villages. These employees come mainly from the eastern districts and belong to the *kokololoti* and *totokŏwany* dialect groups, which have had longer contacts with whites than the others on the Reservation. They are predominantly Presbyterian, but there are also a few Catholics and non-Christians.

In lean years the steady wages offered by the Agency and the wider possibilities for recreation drew Papago to Sells. However, occasionally social problems arise. Girls who have gone to the Agency town have been known to get into trouble, and on one occasion within the last few years a number of girls were rounded up by the Indians and quietly sent back to their own villages. Papago children who have been brought up in Sells seem more aggressive and American in their behavior than others, and often the Papago say that the mischievous pranks and more serious escapades of school children "always start in Sells." Then, too, some of the adults who work for the government are [578] scorned by other Papago as "Agency Indians" and thus are separated from their own people, on the one hand, and from the white staff members, on the other.

THE PAPAGO AND GOVERNMENT: THE TRIBE GOVERNS ITSELF

619 The Papago tribe as a political unit has existed for less than ten years. Before that time, each village handled its own affairs, and related villages co-operated economically and socially, but there was no tribal government as such.

619 There were, however, attempts to bring together leaders from the various villages and dialect groups. For some years before the establishment of the 575 Reservation, some of the headmen and other leaders felt the need of government help in getting water developments, schools, and hospitals. They organized the Good Government League, which met regularly to discuss ways and means of attaining these ends and to draw up petitions for assistance. Characteristically, the group was loosely organized and it was completely Papago. A storekeeper lent the group a building in which to meet in bad weather, and government employees addressed them on request; but apparently no whites were responsible for the organization or its activities.

618 Opposition to the League developed among some of the old headmen and 578 certain of the more conservative communities. After the establishment of the 575 Reservation the feeling increased because, it was alleged, a small group of League members "ran the Agency" and "the superintendent always called

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

them in and did what they said." About 1925 half of the members split off into the League of Papago Chiefs, a group in opposition to the superintendent and the old League. The conflict rapidly became acute. Agency employees and other whites (including missionaries) supported one faction against the other. The opposition won out, and the superintendent was removed in 1929. The Papago say that the influence of this split still exists and that the two groups oppose each other to this day, though the two leagues have officially disappeared.

Another attempt at organization was made when three lawyers offered to represent the Papago in pressing certain claims against the United States. The Secretary of the Interior required that three Papago representatives be elected by a general council of the tribe and be authorized to sign the contract with the attorneys. Of the four men elected as officers of the General Papago Council, two came from the superintendent, and one had been neutral. All of them were boarding-school men from the southeastern part of the Reservation. The ensuing negotiations resulted in strife and factionalism among the Indians, for the rumor was circulated that the executive committee had promised the lawyers large sections of tribal land. Even near-by non-Papago towns were alarmed lest clear titles to their lands be impaired. When, at the recommendation of the lawyers, the Reservation was withdrawn from all types of mineral entry (restored with the Reorganization Act), there arose a real hue and cry from all sides. The attorneys' contract was not renewed in 1934, and most of the Agency personnel was transferred.[7]

When the new superintendent arrived in 1934, he saw the Reservation largely in economic terms and began to reorganize it to develop the cattle industry; his plans included systematic range management, grazing districts with fences, a cattle association, and an organization to provide for local self-government. In October, 1934, representatives from twenty-five villages met in Sells and signed an agreement with the government providing for some of the economic portions of this program.[8] The Indian Reorganization Act was accepted on December 15, 1934, and the Papago Tribe became legally a political unit.

To provide a basis for self-government, the Papago elected a committee of twenty men to draft a constitution. Only three of the western villages, however, participated in the elections, and five of the six-man committee which ironed out differences of opinion were *kokololoti* members of the southeastern

7. Account drawn from U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Annual Statistical Report, Sells Agency . . . , 1935*, pp. 35–37, and from personal inquiry.

8. The cattle association never materialized because of too strenuous opposition.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

for agricultural interests, and the small stream which as a quiet brook passes back of the church represents the last of the Altar River, soon to disappear into the sand.

In this church it was that the population took refuge in 1857 to defend itself against the American filibusters under the command of Captain H. A. Crabbe who invaded the pueblo. The presidente of Caborca accompanied me up into the tower to show me the marks of the enemy's bullets. The Americans had entrenched themselves in a private dwelling opposite, maintaining probably a well-directed rifle fire. A Papago Indian saved the day for the Mexicans by ingeniously attaching fire to an arrow which he shot from the tower onto the straw roof of the American fortress, thereby succeeding in igniting it, which forced its surrender. The Americans were all shot, for times were rough in those frontier days.

The Papago Indians of Caborca number eight families who live in the suburbs, most of them making their living by working for the Mexicans. Two families still possess nice, large fields where both maize and wheat are raised and where splendid specimens of the wild fig trees (Spanish, *higuera*) were conspicuous; this fruit is gathered twice a year and eaten fresh or dried. Other fruit trees here were granadas and peach trees, as well as the ever-present nopal cactus, which is so useful to the natives, both stems and fruit being relished. There are great numbers of the giant cactus growing between here and the coast, but the fruit has not been gathered for several years. It appears that a feast at which sahuaro

11: Hoover U-4, 5 (ca. 1930) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

It was the Sobaipuris for whom and by whom the Spanish missions were built. The picturesque and well preserved San Xavier Mission, about nine miles south of Tucson, was built at the largest village, Bac. The others were located at Guvavi, about nine miles north of Nogales, and at Tumacacori, midway between.

Fleeing before the ravaging Apache early in the nineteenth century, the Sobaipuris abandoned their villages and the missions, and took refuge among the Papago, with whom the tribe merged and lost its identity. The last one of the known Sobaipuri braves died in Tucson in March, 1932.[1] The present village at San Xavier was settled by Papago at a later date.

ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENTS TO THE LAND

Water, or rather its absence, is the critical factor or resource of the Papagueria; limiting in turn habitable sites where water may be had for domestic purposes; limiting the economically useful vegetation to short lived annuals and low scattered xerophytic perenniels suited to limited grazing; severely restricting the tillable lands in spite of extensive areas of flat land with deep fertile soils of the lime accumulating type. The rainfall varies from less than five inches in the west to as much as eighteen inches or more in the Baboquivari Mountains.

In recompense, the aridity has afforded a degree of security, for the area has offered little to hostile marauding Indians, or even to the covetous white man. Few white families could make a living on as much of this land as may support an entire Papago village. The very poverty of his land has been the Papago's guarantee, and his peaceful record is in large part due to the fact that he has had comparatively little provocation or interference. A high degree of adaptation through centuries of adjustment, combined with a low standard of living, have made it possible for over 5,000 Papago to live on about 5,000 square miles of this region, desertic both in climate and resources.

The Papago are the premier dry farmers, producing wheat on driest lands where it is known to be successfully grown, with as little as five inches of rainfall or less.[2a] Some years the crop fails entirely, for the rains do not always come. But yields as high as twenty-five bushels to the acre have been grown. A good harvest will furnish wheat enough to last several years, and the Papago have learned the wisdom of keeping a reserve on hand.

[1] The Arizona Republic, March 16, 1932, p. 1.

[2a] Carl Sauer and Donald Brand, Prehistoric Settlements of Sonora, with Special Reference to Cerros de Trincheras (University of California Publications in Geography, Vol. 5, No. 3, 1931), espc. p. 73.

11: Hoover U-4, 5 (ca. 1930) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28
Sand Papago

22 cate. Their vegetable food was largely the camote, an edible root found in
36 the sand dunes, together with the beans of the mesquite and the fruit of the
62 saguaro and pitahaya cacti, for which they came as far as Quitoboquito and
184 the lower Sonoita River.[9] A few of them even now have temporary camps, as of old, south to the Gulf.[10]

Quitovac, the old head village for the Sonoita Valley, is Sand Papago in kinship. Descendant therefrom was the Papago village at Sonoita and the now extinct village of Tak and the nearly extinct village, Quitoboquito. Sonoita was an attractive and favored site, as the Sonoita River is here a permanent stream. The present village is composed mostly of Mexicans, numbering about 600, who crowded out the Papago. At present there are five Papago families with about sixty people at the lower end of the village.[11] Quitoboquito is a small oasis with one of the largest springs in the Papago country.[12] It never was but a small village,[13] and the population is now reduced to one half-breed family operating a cattle ranch. The spring is on the American side of the boundary line, but the fields and ranch are in Sonora.

Several small villages of Sand Papago are located around Ajo. They are a nomadic and very poor people, having small houses and a field here and
[161] there. The largest remnant of the Sand Papago is located at Dome and Blaisdell, about twenty miles east of Yuma. The population of the two villages totals about two hundred. They have fields along the Gila River and
[404] work as laborers on the Southern Pacific Railway.

FACTORS INFLUENCING SHIFTS OF PAPAGO VILLAGE SITES OR OF THEIR POPULATIONS

178 Several factors have contributed toward a disintegration of the older
● 648 and larger villages. To begin with, a degree of concentration was a necessity for security, especially against Apache raids. As the Apache extended the range of their raiding activities over the Santa Cruz and Altar Valleys, the Papago abandoned all out-lying villages.

At this time the old village of Poso Verde, Sonora, was deserted and its
[361] people went to Comobabi, Sonora. The place became frequented by Apache bands. In 1874 the only evidences of habitation were the remains of a few bacquals and of an old adobe fort built by the Papago as a protection for
[312] their frontier village and grazing range. The "well" was described as a sort of pit or natural tank with a strong flavor of alkali, cow-manure, dead coyotes, and decayed vegetables.[14]

[9] Lumholtz, pp. 330–31.

[10] A list of the former camps of the Sand Papagos is given by Lumholtz, pp. 394–97.

[11] A Papago family may include married offspring living under the same roof.

[12] Kirk Bryan, pp. 164–65.

[13] Hornaday, p. 122.

11: Hoover U-4, 5 (ca. 1930) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

coyotes, and decayed vegetables.[14] Settled again from Tecolote, Poso Verde, situated in a semicircle of foot hills, is now one of the most pleasing of all the Papago villages.

The "trincheras" or walled fortifications on the isolated mesa four miles east of San Miguel were built by the Papago as a retreat in case of Apache raids. They are in this respect distinct from the prehistoric trincheras on the mount just south of Sells, near Poso Verde, and through the Altar Valley, described by Sauer and Brand.[15]

The most important factor in making new and smaller settlements desirable has been the introduction of cattle, dating from the journeys of Father Estubio Kino, 1691–1702, followed by those of Father Garcés, 1768–1775. Along with Christianity, Father Kino introduced cattle, horses, and chickens. Cattle did not become important with the Papago, however, until the latter part of the nineteenth century, and the extensive areas between their limited fields were of little use to them except as game preserves. By hunting and gathering in these areas, they supplemented the produce of their fields, but no inducement was offered to permanent settlement of these areas. In 1849–1850 John Audobon described the Papago as fast passing away, judging from the dilapidation of the towns and the number of empty houses.

> The people live on turtles and what game they can get. I have seen small elk and antelope skins dressed and terrapin shells are everywhere. We have bought two terrapins fresh killed, some roots, and the fruit of a plant called the manguey.
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> Why it is that these Indians settle in such a country, I cannot conceive, for even the lizards, in most places innumerable, are scarce here. The Indians kill them with a light wand, giving them a dextrous tap on the head. They pick up the game, slip the head under a belt or string round their waists, and when sufficient are collected, a little fire is made, and this delicate repast is enjoyed by them as an epicure would relish his brace of woodcock.[16]

Audobon also described a sort of mush made of grasshoppers. The insects were caught and dried, then pounded and mixed with meal or pinole, parched wheat or corn, spiced and pounded.

Pastoralism is better suited to a scattered population, so the tendency has been for the larger villages to break up into more scattered settlements. The passing of the old Tecolote village in favor of smaller communi-

[14] J. Ross Browne, Adventures in the Apache Country (New York, 1874), p. 277.

[15] Carl Sauer and Donald Brand, Prehistoric Settlements of Sonora, with Special Reference to Cerros de Trincheras (University of California Publications in Geography, Vol. 5, No. 3, 1931), espc. pp. 67–70.

[16] Audobon's Western Journal, 1849–50 (Cleveland, 1906), pp. 148–50.

important social unit to the extended family which, in some other Rancheria cultures, was the largest effective social unit. Leadership, as among other desert tribes, was more through personal influence and character than vested authority. In addition to the headman each village also had a council of elders, a village crier, a keeper of the smoke, and other village officers who were in charge of ceremonies and festivals. Papago warfare, led by men selected for their ability, was directed principally against the Apache on the east. [648]

Perhaps the people now known as Papagos would be more accurately described as the descendents of three west to east groups whose "Rancheria" type culture became more complex toward the east where increased rainfall and surface water permitted such things as concentrated and permanent settlements, greater division of labor, and more elaborate religious ceremonies. Dr. Bernard Fontana, at any rate, has pointed out that at the time of Spanish contact there were three major "types" of Papago groups classified on the basis of subsistence and settlement patterns. (Personal Communication). These, according to Fontana, were the western centrally-based nomads, the Sand Papagos, living in an area of less than five inches of rainfall annually and located between the Gila Mountains on the west to the Ajo Mountains on the east; the central "akchin" farmers, or Papagos proper, whose winter-summer transhumance

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European Contact. The first important contact between Papagos and Europeans came about when Father Eusebio Kino brought his missionary program into what is now Sonora and Arizona in the late 1600's and early 1700's. Of greatest significance to the Papago was the Spanish introduction of cattle, sheep, goats, and horses. On several journeys into what is now southern Arizona Kino had stock from the missions of Sonora driven north, and cattle and horses quickly became established in many areas. Unfortunately for the Papago, the Apache in the mountainous areas to the north and east found Papago stock a strong lure for increased raiding activities; as the Apache now also had horses, they could travel far and fast, and both Pima and Papago were forced to defend themselves by means of more carefully organized military activities than had previously been common. The advantages of a greatly increased meat supply from cattle and the increased mobility made possible with horses, were at least partly offset by the continued Apache raids, which neither Papago nor Spanish measures were fully successful against.

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In spite of Kino's vigorous beginnings, missionary activities were on a small scale and most Papagos remained largely isolated from Spanish contact, except indirectly through the new plants and animals that had been introduced. During the many years of revolution by which

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175 Mexico gained its independence in 1821, Papagos from Sonora
177 sometimes fled northward into what is now Arizona, intro-
ducing Spanish ways acquired during their longer and more
175 intensive contact with non-Indians. The Gadsden Purchase,
648 which added the lands south of the Gila River to the United
States in 1853, resulted in the Papago Indians losing their
Mexican citizenship, without gaining full United States
citizenship. Their lands were considered at that time as
available for white settlement, and many springs, wells,
and grazing areas were soon claimed by ranchers moving into
the area. The seriousness of the trespass was not recog-
nized in early pioneer days with respect to the vast desert
175 areas west of Tucson. The situation was different, however,
659 with respect to the compact settlement of Indians around
[162] the San Xavier Mission and, for this group, a reservation
was established in 1874 by Executive Order. By this means
about 70,000 acres of land near the Santa Cruz River were
[423] protected from white encroachment. When much of the area
[311] was allotted to individual Indians in 1890, 1,580 acres
were reported to be under irrigation and an additional
6,440 acres were considered suitable for farming if water
could be made available; the remaining acreage was suitable
only for grazing.

175 About this same time, the 1880's and 1890's, a
burst of mining activity (in the area of the present main
reservation) brought a rapid development of many new wells
and the improvement of old ones, to supply the towns that

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quickly grew up at such locations as Quijotoa (Covered Wells), Alamo, and San Antone (formerly Weldon, with a population said to have reached 11,000 at one time). One by one the mines were worked out or failed, and although the mining communities were rapidly deserted, the improvements to the water supply enabled Papagos to occupy the locations advantageously wherever elaborate well machinery was not needed. [312] [311]

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After the Civil War, the combination of growing Papago herds and numerous ranches established by white settlers resulted in substantial increase in the stock grazed in the area now included in the Papago Reservation. Papago "depredations" in the 1890's caused some ranchers to abandon the area, their losses being alleged to have been $300,000 in stock and improvements. Lumholtz reported in 1909 that several Papago stock men had herds of about 200 cattle and 50 horses, in excellent condition, in the western slopes of the Baboquivari Range. Nevertheless, Indian cattlemen and farmers were not secure in their land and numerous large tracts were held by non-Indians. [648] [422]

175 657 131 [14]

A complete history of the establishment of the three Papago reservations is provided by a Bureau of Indian Affairs report (1944):

> "The first reservation for the Papago Indians was established at San Xavier on July 1, 1874, and the second at Gila Bend on December 12, 1882.... An Executive Order of June 17, 1909, reduced the size of the Gila Bend Reservation.

10,235 acres within the Gila Bend Reservation, a total of 2,855,920 acres."

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No changes of any importance in Papago land holdings have been made since 1944, but a very important change in the nature of Indian title came about in 1955 when, by Act of Congress, the Papago were given all mineral, as well as surface, rights to the reservation.

The history of the establishment of the Papago reservations reveals how recently the large majority of Papago have been directly exposed to non-Indian health, education, religious, and other programs. It was not until 1917 that the first federal school was established on the main reservation at Sells and it was not until after 1917 that any attempt was made to develop Papago resources.

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The decades following 1910 also saw a renewal of Catholic missionary work and the commencement of Protestant missionary work. The history of the modern influence of Christianity on the reservations is reported by Joseph, Spicer and Chesky (1949):

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"For several years after 1908, brief trips were made to Gu Achi by various Roman Catholic priests who were stationed on the Pima Reservation. In 1915 a resident priest was given jurisdiction over the area, and he made his headquarters near Ko Vaya (Cobabi). In 1923 Father Bonaventure Oblasser moved the headquarters to Topawa. One or sometimes two priests served the reservations for the next decade, carrying on the work of the church and directing its mission schools, which were taught by young Papago. Visits were seldom made to the westernmost part of the reservation,

19: Dobyns E-5 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

Introduction

000 Time is catching up with the Papago Indians. In 1700 [23] they didn't have domestic animals (save the dog), any [24] plants domesticated in the Old World, any knowledge of the wheel, and looked and acted very much like naked savages. They started catching up with the Europeans who intruded into their desert domain then, and have progressed through crisis after crisis successfully. But after 250 years gaining, it looks as though they may be slipping back in their race against us.

These dark-skinned natives live in a region where the human picture is repainted in lighter hues every year. Thousands of white-skinned Anglos move to the Southwest from other parts of the country seeking health, retirement, relaxation, or work. Once a Southwesterner was very different from people in the rest of the U. S.-- now he is usually just someone from somewhere else.

177 As the region fills up with Anglos who are very much ● 648 alike, the people who were here before are profoundly affected. For many decades Spanish-Americans and Indians were too isolated to be much changed by a growing flood [491] of Anglo immigration. But better roads made them accessible to tourists seeking strange sights, and drew for them a distorted picture of Anglo society and ways. Distorted as it was, it helped balance the strange picture sketched by the U. S. Indian Bureau's handful of employees who were almost the only Anglos Indians saw for decades.

19: Dobyns E-5 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

177 648 [161] [464] During the decade before 1950 the population of the Southwest leaped about 50 per cent. Now most Indians are no longer isolated. They have numerous white neighbors even in rural areas--except on some very large reservations. From many small reserves Indians commute to work in large Anglo cities. Southwestern natives are in much closer contact with large numbers of Anglos than ever before. They are exposed to more Anglo culture, and can learn and are learning more about it and adopting more of it. Indians in the region are changing rapidly in thoughts and action.

[464] Southwestern Indians also have behind them now nearly two decades of wide-spread experience at wage labor. First emergency work relief programs in the 1930's recruited them. Then many young men and women served in the armed forces, and defense industries pulled reservation dwellers away from their homes into the war-time manpower vacuum.

> "With the advent of war, Papago were drafted, and both men and women began to leave the Reservation in large numbers to work in the cotton fields, ranches, mines, railroads, and airplane factories. The effect of this new work pattern will be far-reaching."*

177 464 648 A few years working along side Anglos in their own surroundings for equal wages taught formerly unsophisticated Indians more about Anglos and their culture than

*Joseph, Spicer, and Chesky, 1949, p. 87.

19: Dobyns E-5 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

197 decades of tutelage by the Indian Bureau and tourists.
464 And more Indians were affected than ever before--a quar-
ter of the hitherto ultra-isolated Navahos; all the men in
● 648 some Pueblos in New Mexico. Defense workers and serv-
icemen learned new standards of living and new modes of
behavior.

161 At the war's end they returned to inadequate reservation lands. For Indian population in the Southwest had
[433] leaped far beyond the human carrying capacity of the reserves--small remnants of original Indian territory held in trust for them by the government. While many smaller tribes stabilized at their size of 50 years ago, larger groups are rapidly increasing even though Anglo immigration submerged the total Indian minority ever deeper.

311 At the same time the Southwestern Indian land base
433 deteriorated in quality so it could support fewer people,
197 because of overgrazing, erosion, and other causes.
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> "Faced by these increasing difficulties, many Papago families began regularly to migrate off the reservation to pick cotton and engage in other seasonal wage work during the winter months, while they retained permanent homes in their 'fields' villages where they spent the remainder of the year farming and herding. In time a new dual residence and economy pattern developed among the Papago. [182] By reinforcing the rhythmic balance of traditional culture and personality structures the new pattern apparently met, to a certain extent, both immediate economic needs . . . and deep-rooted socio-psychological needs for security and opportunity for constructive development."[9]

[9]Thompson, *1951*, p. 71.

464 36 166 178 170 [221] The movement of the Desert People to permanent homes in labor camps on European owned farms, abandoning their roots on the tribal lands is a relatively new development. While Papagos have worked for Europeans for almost the entire period of contact, their work has always been brief in duration, a supplemental measure followed by a withdrawal to the homeland. Forsaking overcrowded tribal lands for good seems to have begun only within the last decade, and to have reached significant proportions only in the last 5 years. (Some Papagos have worked for many years as domestics or miners away from the reserves) This late beginning for a class of Papagos severed from their homeland is due to the peaceful nature of contacts between Papagos and Americans and to lack of opportunity for wide-scale farm employment until [722] recent years. The Papago economic base was never [248] destroyed by warfare with the incoming whites as in the case of the Navahos and many other tribes. Over- [161] population on deteriorating reserves did not reach a critical point until about the same time extensive development of irrigated agricultural lands in nearby valleys began, offering a safety valve to those Papagos able to speak acceptable English and perform semi-skilled farm work.

464 166 171 This class of Papago farm laborers is very new compared to natives living on South African farms. Most of them have grown up on European farms, without any stake in native reserve areas. Some are descended from natives forced into farm labor by destruction of their cattle in wars nearly a century ago.[1]

The ties native South African farm workers retain with natives living in the reserves naturally depend on the time they have spent on the farms. Some entirely lack relatives or friends on reserves, and have [602] never visited the reserves.[2] A very few Papago year- [592] round farm laborers no longer have relatives on the [574] reservations. But they all still have friends on the [186] trust lands. They all were born on the reserves. They all still visit their old homes, even if only rarely. They are all very conscious that they are Desert People, and are only beginning to view themselves as people apart.

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[1] Hunter, 1937, p. 389.
[2] Ibid., p. 390.

3: Whited G-5 (1890) 1894 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Papago NU28
Pima NU29

PIMA AGENCY.

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Reports of Special Agent STEPHEN WHITED on the Indians of the Gila River, Salt River, and Papago reservations, Pima agency, Maricopa-Pima, and Pinal counties, Arizona, from August to November, 1890.

Names of Indian tribes or parts of tribes occupying said reservations: (a) On the Gila Bend reservation, Papagos; on the Gila River reservation, Maricopa and Pima; on the Salt River reservation, Maricopa and Pima; on the Papago reservation, Papagos.

The unallotted areas of these reservations are as follows: Gila Bend reservation, 22,301 acres, or 35 square miles; Gila River, 337,120 acres, or 526 square miles; Salt River, 46,720 acres, or 73 square miles; Papago, 70,000 acres, or 109.3 square miles. These reservations have been partially surveyed and some portions subdivided. They were established, altered, or changed as follows: Gila River, by act of Congress approved February 28, 1859 (11 U. S. Stats., p. 401); executive orders August 31, 1876, January 10, 1879, June 14, 1879, May 5, 1882, and November 15, 1882; Salt River, by executive order June 14, 1879; Papago, by executive order July 1, 1874, and act of Congress approved August 5, 1882 (22 U. S. Stats., p. 299); Gila Bend reservation created by executive order December 23, 1882.

[161] Indian population June 1, 1890: Gila River, 3,613; Salt River, 866 (Pimas, 641; Maricopas, 225); Papagos, 5,163; total, 9,642.

This agency comprises the Gila River reservation, occupied by the Pimas; the Salt River reservation, inhabited by Pimas and Maricopas; the Papago reservation, and the Papagos off the reservation.

Pi 175 648 342 [241]

The Pima Indians were occupying the valley of the Gila when the white man first saw them in 1539, and they have remained there, a peaceable and friendly people. For many years this valley was a place of refuge for white men, for the Pimas protected and fed them from their scanty fare. These Indians have been self-supporting. But little is given them by the government except farming implements. Their chief productions are wheat, barley, beans, and melons. The typical Pima house is shaped somewhat like an inverted kettle. It is about 20 feet in diameter, has no windows, and only one low door. The civilized and educated Pima is not contented with this kind of house; hence he makes his house of adobes, with windows, doors, tables, beds, and cupboards. About 50 adobe houses are now built each year.

Pa 175 648

The Papagos inhabited the southern third portion of Arizona and the northern part of Sonora, Mexico, when the Europeans first met them in 1539–1540. They usually have a little better houses than the Pimas. Their teachers have generally been Catholics, but they are not making equal progress with the Pimas, excepting those who are in the government schools.

R 101 648 [161]

The Maricopas came from the Yuma tribe, who live on the Colorado river in California. They at one time assisted the Pimas in fighting the Apaches in the Gila valley, living at that time about 8 miles below the Sacaton agency, but because of the lack of water for irrigating purposes they left the old reservation about 15 years ago and went to the Salt River reservation, on the south bank of the Salt river, near Phenix, where they now are. They number only 315. They are a good-for-nothing sort of people, lazy, and fault-finding.

The Maricopas are decreasing in number.—C. W. CROUSE, United States Indian agent.

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The agency buildings at Sacaton are of adobe; one two-story, used as a dwelling, valued at $4,000; another of one-story, containing the agent's and the physician's offices, valued at $500; one used as a storeroom, $1,500; one as a blacksmith's shop, value, $600; sundry others used for storage, value, $300; total value, $7,100. The dwelling is in fair condition, and the others specified are in good condition.

GILA RIVER AND SALT RIVER RESERVATIONS.

Pi 131

The Pima tribe of Indians are on two reservations in Arizona, the larger commencing at the junction of the Gila and Salt rivers and running east on both sides of the Gila river about 32 miles, with an average breadth of 10.66 miles, containing 338 square miles or 357,120 acres. Along with the Pimas at Salt river are 315 Maricopas, and they will be considered as one people in writing about them. The southern limit of this reservation is latitude 33° north. The Salt River reservation lies about 12 miles east of the city of Phenix, and is mostly on the north side of the Salt river, extending easterly about 15 miles, and contains 73 square miles, or 46,720 acres.

Pi 13 241

About one-eighth of the Gila River reservation is mountainous, the remainder an arid waste. During the rainy season, however, sufficient grass is produced on the greater part of the reservation for pasturage for a limited number of animals. In the year 1890 about 6,000 acres of land were cultivated, yielding good crops of wheat and barley wherever the water supply was sufficient.

The Salt River reservation is similar to the Gila river country, except that a larger proportion of the surface is mountainous. During the dry season the bed of the Gila is often dry in places. The imperfection of any irrigating system yet devised by the Indians tends to reduce the agricultural product of the reservation from year to year. Below this agency 21 farms, which produced more than 400,000 pounds of wheat in 1880, have produced but a few pounds in 1890, on account of the scarcity of water when the crops were growing.

The altitude of the agency and this portion of the reservation is about 1,100 feet. The highest temperature for 1890 was 107°, and the lowest 29°. No record of the rainfall was kept, but it is believed that the quantity is very nearly the same as that recorded at Phenix, 40 miles distant, which was about 8 inches.

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a The statements giving tribes, areas, and bases for agencies are from the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1890, pages 438-443. The population is the result of the census.

3: Whited G-5 (1890) 1894 NT15 River Yumans
Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Pa 658 797

There is what is termed a "contract school" located at Tucson, which many of the Papago children attend. The school is established and supported in part by a missionary department of the Presbyterian church. The buildings are large, airy, well planned, and adapted to the purpose required. The pupils seem well disciplined and clean. The government pays a stated sum annually to the school for each pupil in attendance as reimbursement for board and clothing furnished. The school owns 5 or 6 good buildings, all in good condition and well furnished, also a farm of 43 acres. On account of lack of water but few garden vegetables are grown, but barley and wheat yield abundantly.

Some of the scholars are taught carpentering, painting, and plastering, and their work is quite satisfactory.

PAPAGOS LIVING OFF THE RESERVATION.

Pa 131 197

These Papago Indians live in the southern part of Pima county, along the southern border of the territory of Arizona. Their language is similar to that spoken by the Pimas. They roam over a country about 100 miles in width north and south and about 125 miles east and west, and there are a few small villages over the Mexican border but near the boundary line.

Pa 13 231

The country in which they live consists of broad, open plains, divided by mountain ranges. The valleys or plains are arid, having no natural springs or running streams of water; yet after the summer rains these plains are covered with grass of a fine quality, and owing to the dryness of the air this grass is cured or dried on the ground and furnishes good, rich food for cattle during the remainder of the year.

Pa 361 312 342 [231]

The Indians select their dwelling places at the foot of the mountains near the mouth of the various canyons that open out into the plains. Small springs often flow through these canyons and sink into the sand. The Indians utilize these springs or sink wells into the sand, and thus secure the underflow from the springs. Their cattle feed out into the plains and return to these wells or springs to drink. Near these watering places, usually on an elevation, the Indians build their houses in their permanent villages of adobe, about 12 by 16 feet in area and about 8 feet in height. Small poles are laid on top and crosswise of the building, and on these are laid brush, with weeds or grass on the brush, the whole covered with about 6 inches of clay, which is impervious to water. The floor is of clay, and there is one doorway, but no windows. The doorway is sometimes closed with a dried beef hide. As a rule, they live on the outside of the house. The house contains no furniture except a little bedding and some cooking utensils.

Pa [352]

Pa 262 439 291

Their food consists of beef, dried wild fruit, dried mesquite beans made into a kind of bread, and wild game. During the summer rains they raise some vegetables, which they dry for winter use. They also sell or trade cattle to settlers in the Gila and Santa Cruz valleys for wheat and corn, which the women grind in their crude way into meal and flour. They have adopted the civilized mode of dress, and are gradually learning the use of soap.

The women of the tribe are virtuous and industrious, being in these traits far in advance of any other tribe in the territory.

Pa 161 648 Pa 46

There are 4,800 of this tribe living off the Papago reservation. With rare exceptions they are self-sustaining, have always been good citizens, and on many occasions have joined with the whites to assist in suppressing murderous Apaches. The principal occupation of the men is raising cattle and horses, and a little farming when they can find a piece of damp ground that will raise corn and vegetables, hunting, chopping wood around mining camps, and ordinary labor wherever they can find it. If there is any mixed blood in the tribe it is not perceptible.

There are several mining camps scattered throughout the country which these Indians inhabit, and in some of the large valleys wealthy men or companies have sunk wells 500 or 1,000 feet deep and established cattle ranches or ranges, and many Indians are employed about these camps and mines.

Pa 133 497 224

The country is somewhat difficult of access, as there are several mountain ranges running through it. The roads follow the valleys, and sometimes it is "a long way around where it is only a short way across". These mountain ranges abound in game, which the Indians hunt.

Pa 273 231

A month's travel in these Papago villages failed to reveal a single case of drunkenness, although there are frequent instances of drunkenness among Indians in the streets of Tucson. They have great numbers of horses and cattle, but it is impossible to form a correct estimate as to numbers. The horses are small and inferior, but the cattle are fully up to the average in size and quality.

Pa 648 771 797

These Indians as a tribe have always been exceptionally friendly to the white people. They have never received aid from the government. The little religion they have is a conglomerate of Roman catholicism, superstition, and Indian hoodooism. The Roman Catholic church established missions among them more than 150 years ago.

THE RESERVATION AND NONRESERVATION PAPAGO INDIANS, PIMA AGENCY.

Report of Special Agent C. W. Wood on the reservation and nonreservation Papagos of Pima and Cochise counties.

Pa 101 Pi [101] Pa [797]

TRIBAL NAME.—The Papagos and Pimas were formerly one tribe. Authorities differ as to the derivation and meaning of the name. One view is that Papago means "hair cut", another that it means "baptised". Neither of these meanings has any etymological basis or value. The most reasonable derivation of the term seems to be the following, derived from conversation with the oldest Indians: the division of the Pimas occurred from the labors